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## FOULNESS



# BLUE STREAK: THE TRUTH

**THE SCRAPPING OF BRITAIN'S FIRST LONG-RANGE H-BOMB MISSILE, WHICH WAS AGAIN ARGUED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, WAS NO EXCEPTIONAL MEASURE.**

The British Government has at last discovered the truth which every country building World War III weapons has recognised but failed to act on: weapons are now out of date *years* before they can get anywhere near the assembly line.

This is the post-1945 revolution in the technology of weaponry. The weapons get bigger, more ingenious and more complicated than ever. This process is ever continuing. Blue Streak, for example, was not due until "beyond the mid-1960s." It has been cancelled because it can no longer be judged militarily effective.

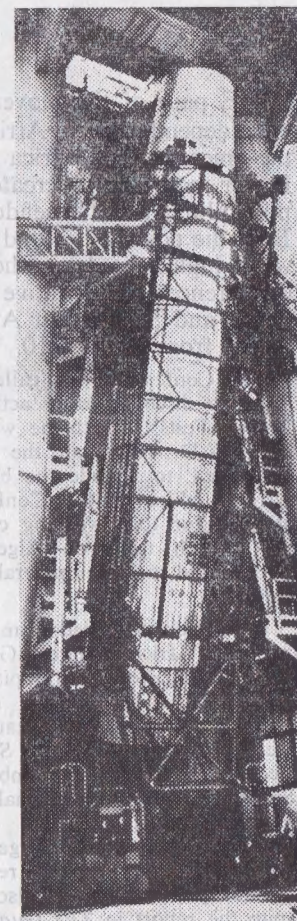
Now the search is going on for an alternative megaton weapon which can more efficiently cancel out whole populations. Consider the two suggested "improvements": Skybolt missiles fired from V-bombers, and Polaris missiles shot from submarines. The first possibility ignores that the V-bombers will be obsolete by the later 'sixties, when the missiles could be ready. The second alternative is still so many years away—the keels of the submarines haven't even been laid down yet—that it is certain to be outmoded before its scheduled appearance.

The cost, moreover, of *one single* nuclear submarine capable of carrying 16 Polaris missiles would be "about £35,000,000," *The Times* Defence Correspondent estimated on Monday.

### *The real missile gap*

The new pattern of preparation for war has emerged. The time between the blueprint and mass production is so long (already approaching a decade) that nobody can realistically plan so far ahead in a period of increasingly rapid change. The fact is that the Governments of the Great Powers, and their military advisers, incapable of imagining any policy other than preparation for war, are now in a world of their own, chasing successive illusory super-weapons from drawing board to scrap heap.

Yet this search for more "effective" weapons continues, in Britain as elsewhere, supported by the great weight of "right-thinking" and "responsible" people. The "Opposition's" spokesman on Defence, Mr. George Brown, was formerly a supporter of Blue Streak and is now criticising the Government because it has not got a more effective



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**Monday, 7.04 a.m.:** Police carry away local demonstrator Ruth Townsend from the approach to Foulness Island H-bomb factory, near Southend. In front, fellow project-organiser David Fairbanks awaits arrest.

Photo: Will Green.

## 21 demonstrators jailed

**FIFTEEN men and six women were last Monday sentenced to seven days' imprisonment in the first locally-organised civil disobedience action against nuclear weapons.**

Their appearance at the County Court in Southend was the climax to a week-end of activity centred around Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on Foulness Island, eight miles east of Southend.

They all refused to enter into recognisances or to pay fines.

The project—initiated by some members of the Southend Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—included local meetings, film shows and a poster walk of over 180 marchers on Saturday afternoon from Southend's sea front out to the weapons plant.

From then on a constant vigil was kept at the road block on the entrance to Foulness Island.

Just before 7 a.m. on Monday the demonstrators—led by Will Warren, Ruth Townsend and David Fairbanks—walk quietly towards the road block and a barrage of press and television cameras, reporters, police and security guards.

Reaching a cordon of police they sit in the roadway and are cautioned. A GPO van approaches and demonstrators politely refuse to move. The inspector gives the

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Yet this search for more "effective" weapons continues, in Britain as elsewhere, supported by the great weight of "right-thinking" and "responsible" people. The "Opposition's" spokesman on Defence, Mr. George Brown, was formerly a supporter of Blue Streak and is now criticising the Government because it has not got a more effective weapon and because it will not allow a secret inquiry into policy!

This preoccupation of our statesmen with the weapons of the late 'sixties and early 'seventies continues at a time when they are about to enter on the latest round of Summitry. It has to be faced quite frankly that the preparations for war so outweigh even the politicians' hopes of peace that the negotiations will once again be

**By IAN DIXON**

order to arrest and the demonstrators are carried bodily to waiting police vans.

At the County Court the accused, having decided against any legal defence, endorse one by one statements made by some of their number—for example that of Margaret Prosser:

"We are virtually disenfranchised on the supreme issue of our time. . . . If we cannot be heard to dissent we must be seen to dissent, and we do this not for ourselves but for humanity."

The police superintendent giving evidence against the prisoners said: "I have never known a more friendly obstruction of the police in my 30 years in the Force."

In passing sentence Mr. Henry Bridge spoke of his "great concern that you should express your concern for humanity through civil disobedience."

## The real missile gap

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What is desperately required is a belief that peace is possible, that it will not come about in an atmosphere conditioned by military strategy, and that it is therefore necessary for independent action to be taken to halt this breakneck rush to destruction.

We shall not get such a declaration from any of the Great Powers, for their actions show they don't believe it. Now is the time for all men to say what their Governments are incapable of declaring—and to act out the truth that war can be abandoned.

We commend all those who have the courage and the insight to take action at this time. There will not be many more opportunities.

## THE GOVERNMENT EXPLAINS

**The cost** of the Blue Streak project, until abandoned, "about £65,000,000"; completion would have cost "between £500,000,000 and £600,000,000."

**The deadline:** It "would not have been available until beyond the mid-1960s."

**The possible alternative:** The Skybolt missile will not be available until Blue Streak would have been.

**The moral:** "If we are to keep the peace for an occasional expenditure of £60,000,000-odd, it is very cheap."

—Harold Watkinson, Minister of Defence, House of Commons, April 13.

After the court hearing Will Warren announced through the court room window to awaiting supporters that the demonstrators intend to return to Foulness next Monday, after their release, to continue "Operation Foulness." As the prisoners were driven Londonwards out of the court supporters cheered and applauded.

Roy Simpkins, of 184 Westcliff Park Drive, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, announced as chairman of Southend Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament that £10 has already been received for the Operation Foulness Relief Fund set up to relieve demonstrators and/or dependents in hardship as a result of the direct action project.

Another supporters' march will take place to-morrow (Saturday) starting off from Southend sea front at 3 p.m. Operation Foulness Committee is appealing for supporters, demonstrators and funds in order to continue the project next week. "In order to continue the project next week, material comforts and happy relationships. To have it not also stopped you thinking?"

A meeting for demonstrators takes place tomorrow (Sat.) at 7.30 p.m. at Friends International Centre, Tavistock Square, London.

Another picture on p. 8.  
List of arrested, p. 5.



# NON-VIOLENCE AND THE AFRICAN FUTURE

By April Carter

THE pace of the movement towards independence in Africa, and thus the emergence of Africa as a political Power, combine to create tremendous possibilities and tremendous problems. Both the possibilities and the problems were high-lighted at the Emergency Conference on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa, held in Accra from April 7-10.

This Conference was called primarily in order to discuss further action against the French Tests. Its theme was then broadened by Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, to include the balkanisation of Africa. Finally, the Conference agenda allowed for four working committees: on the French tests, on Algeria, on South Africa and on the general liberation of Africa.

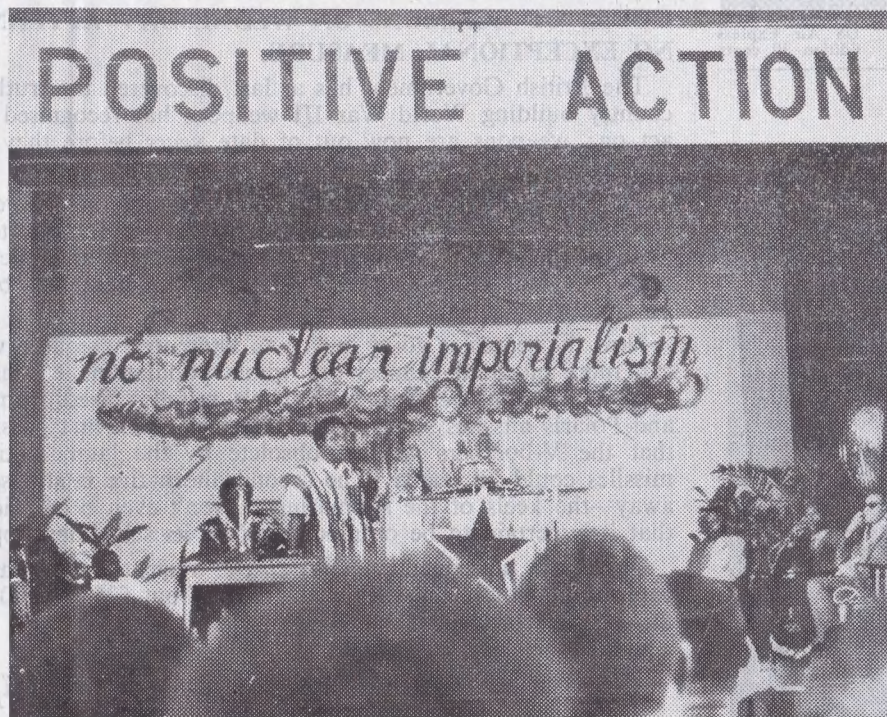
Delegations attended from the nine Independent African States—Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Cameroons, Ethiopia, United Arab Republic, Libya, Tunisia and Morocco. Among the dependent states represented were Togoland, Congo, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Mauritius, Gambia, Zanzibar, Somaliland, French Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. A large Parliamentary delegation from Nigeria representing the various political Parties also attended, despite the report in *The Guardian* on April 4 of the Nigerian Prime Minister's unwillingness to send a delegation.

There were delegates from Basutoland and South West Africa, and Tennyson Makiwane flew from London to represent South Africa. The Algerian FLN decided to support the Conference in spite of the emphasis on non-violence in the original invitations to it, and M. Franz Fanon headed the Algerian delegation.

## Political weakness

It was no small achievement to have assembled over 200 delegates from so many different countries at such short notice. The greatest failure of the Conference at

*The writer, Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, was one of a number of people outside Africa to be invited to the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa which opened in Accra on April 7.*



Dr. Nkrumah speaking at the opening of the recent Accra conference.

The Sahara Protest Team met with the same problem, and failed to evoke any favourable response from the Upper Volta Government when trying to enter their territory. The only French Community leader who has made a public protest against the atomic explosions in the Sahara is the Prime Minister of Senegal. In view of this, the Conference adopted a resolution on the French tests which incorporated a plea to "our brothers and sisters in French Community States... to join us in

Konakry. And the heads of independent states are due to meet at Addis Ababa in June. So delegates were tired of fine oratory and of high-sounding resolutions which never came to anything.

Tom Mboya of Kenya summed up this mood in a powerful speech in which he pointed out: "In 1958 we agreed on a boycott of South African goods. Yet not one state has implemented this," whereas there is an active campaign for a consumers'

the possibility of distinguishing between each resolution.

It is scarcely surprising that they were adopted "unanimously," though it is more surprising that there was no protest. To make matters worse French versions of all the resolutions were not produced, which meant that the French speaking delegates were not even able to study the resolutions properly in advance.

## Training centre

IN spite of these procedural inadequacies most delegates probably were satisfied with the general content of the resolutions in so far as they contained definite proposals. Thus if individual Governments or organisations take the initiative in implementing them they should get support from those represented at the Conference.

Representatives of the Sahara Protest Team are hoping to help establish a training centre in Ghana which will carry out further action against the French tests, and which will develop into a general training centre to assist liberation movements.

**A real test of the success of the Conference will be the amount of support there is for this training centre.**

If it is staffed and financed by the countries represented at the Conference, and if volunteers come to the centre from all over Africa, and in particular from the French Community States (or if other training centres can be established at key points), then it will be a symbol of genuine African unity and an effective instrument of positive action. But if support for the centre is limited to Ghana, then it may be no more than a pawn in the African political power struggle.

The centre's potentialities may be gauged by analysing the various forces at work during the Positive Action Conference. The tone of this was set by Dr. Nkrumah's opening speech, extracts from which appeared in Peace News last week. It may turn out to be one of the most significant political speeches ever made. Certainly it put non-violence in a new political per-



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### **Political weakness**

It was no small achievement to have assembled over 200 delegates from so many different countries at such short notice. The greatest failure of the Conference at this level was the almost complete lack of participation by the French Community States (Central African Republic, Chad Republic, Congo Republic, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta). Since they are in a key position to bring political pressure to bear on France over the tests and also over Algeria their absence was a serious political weakness.

### **Accra developments—another comment**

*Passing through London on his way home to the USA, the American pacifist leader, A. J. Muste, made this comment on the Accra conference.*

It was a matter of great importance for the whole movement of non-violence that so representative a conference of African governments and organisations as has met in Accra should unanimously hail a pacifist leader, Michael Scott, and the work of the Sahara Protest Team under his direction, recognising that its non-violent protest against French tests had made a genuine contribution to the life of Africa.

Many of the delegates went on to declare that it was important for non-violent positive action to continue on a much greater scale against the French tests and missile bases in the Sahara. They recognised that this involved serious training and thus urged the establishment of training centres in non-violent positive action in Africa.

Of still greater importance is the fact that the Conference resolution is immediately to be put into effect by the early

The Sahara Protest Team met with the same problem, and failed to evoke any favourable response from the Upper Volta Government when trying to enter their territory. The only French Community leader who has made a public protest against the atomic explosions in the Sahara is the Prime Minister of Senegal. In view of this, the Conference adopted a resolution on the French tests which incorporated a plea to "our brothers and sisters in French Community States . . . to join us in our struggles and efforts to stop . . . further nuclear tests. . ."

Delegates came impatient for action. The All-African Peoples' Conference had met twice, in Accra in December, 1958, and in Tunis a year later, and the resolutions passed had not been implemented. Many were going on immediately from Accra to an Afro-Asian solidarity conference at

setting up of an enlarged Sahara protest project and the establishment in relation to it of a training centre in Accra which can, of course, serve to train non-violent workers not only for this project but for other situations such as the African.

The problem of the relation of a non-violent training centre to government is a serious one, which will have to be carefully worked out as the centre develops. The setting up of a non-violent project which may conceivably involve as many as 1,000 Africans also presents the most complicated problem that the direct action movement has yet faced.

Assuming, however, that these problems are resolved and a large-scale non-violent movement develops in Africa, beginning with initial interest and sympathy from a great many organisations and a number of governments in Africa, and definite support from some of them, it seems to me that it may yet prove that the recent Accra developments will mark the most important step in the history of non-violence since Gandhi 40 years ago launched the movement for non-violence in India.

### **Dr. Nkrumah speaking at the opening of the recent Accra conference.**

Konakry. And the heads of independent states are due to meet at Addis Ababa in June. So delegates were tired of fine oratory and of high-sounding resolutions which never came to anything.

Tom Mboya of Kenya summed up this mood in a powerful speech in which he pointed out: "In 1958 we agreed on a boycott of South African goods. Yet not one state has implemented this," whereas there is an active campaign for a consumers' boycott in Britain.

"It is embarrassing . . . Let it not be said that all we can do is embark on expensive conferences and talk, and then go back home to await the next conference. . . . Our friends in Algeria and South Africa are not interested in philosophy."

Did positive action emerge from this Conference? Many of the ideas contained in the resolutions were good, and included the setting up of training centres in non-violent positive action for volunteers, for demonstrations against the French tests and for participants in liberation movements. The failure lay in the total absence of provisions for implementing the resolutions, either by setting up working committees or presenting financial estimates and asking for monetary pledges.

### **Conference procedure**

This failure to make practical provisions seemed largely due to the general vagueness and inefficiency of the Conference arrangements. Members of a working committee, established on the first day and composed of heads of delegations from the 13 independent or nearly independent states and delegates from Algeria and South Africa, appointed representatives to serve on the four sub-committees. But there was no suggestion that the Committee would continue to operate after the Conference, nor were delegates given any opportunity of electing a committee to implement its resolutions.

Indeed, the way the resolutions were presented was extremely arbitrary. Delegates had to adopt or reject all four resolutions (covering the four topics and presented en bloc) as they stood, without any chance of comment, amendment, or even

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The centre's potentialities may be gauged by analysing the various forces at work during the Positive Action Conference. The tone of this was set by Dr. Nkrumah's opening speech, extracts from which appeared in *Peace News* last week. It may turn out to be one of the most significant political speeches ever made. Certainly it put non-violence in a new political perspective.

### **Mass action**

Within a framework of governmental neutrality and refusal to participate in the nuclear arms race, Dr. Nkrumah called for the development of individual non-violent direct action, or "positive action," to use the phrase popular in Ghana. He referred to the work of the Sahara Protest Team, and suggested that future action might take the form of "a mass non-violent attempt to proceed towards the testing area."

In order to carry out such a project it would be necessary to train volunteers, and Nkrumah emphasised the far-reaching possibilities of non-violent positive action and the need for preparation and research, and therefore for a training centre where volunteers would learn the essential disciplines of concerted positive action.

"Such an establishment might also become the centre for such needed research into the philosophy and technique of positive action which, in the age of nuclear madness and apartheid arrogance, offers the greatest single hope for peace, security and brotherhood among mankind."

Dr. Nkrumah was not alone in this. Tennyson Makiwane in discussing the methods used so far to combat apartheid said the people of South Africa had not resorted to mass violence "because we at least are civilised" and abhor unnecessary bloodshed.

In a very interesting speech the head of the Liberian delegation expressed the fear that some madman might start a world conflagration and overwhelm all of us.

"As applied to Africa (in face of what has happened on this continent), who can



# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## RE-ENTER THE STALINISTS

**THE** Stalinists are moving in again in Poland—at least in the film industry. Several of the leading Polish directors have run into censorship troubles.

Most in trouble is Andrei Wadja, the young director whose first two films "A Generation" and "Kanal" had a tremendous success when they were shown at the Cannes film festival a few years ago. Wadja's fourth film, "Lotna," was very badly received by the Polish critics. And his fifth film has not so far been released, and it seems unlikely that it will be.

The bad reception of "Lotna" is not, perhaps, surprising. Ostensibly a film about the Polish cavalry at the beginning of the 1939-45 war, its main theme is the end of old Poland. Wadja has always had a rather romantic admiration for some of the virtues of this Poland, its chivalry and senseless heroism. Naturally enough the present régime does not encourage this kind of admiration so that "Lotna" has a contradiction at its very centre; it seems to be an attack on pre-war Poland, and yet what one remembers from it is pre-war Poland with its ceremony and gallantry.

The censorship of Wadja's fifth film is more surprising. For the first time Wadja does not take war as his theme. The film is the story of a man who tries to seduce a girl; she resists him despite his persistent efforts. Eventually he decides to abandon her, but finds that in fact he misses her—she has won. The Poles didn't like this at all. They refused to show the film even



Wadja's "Kanal": A story of the Warsaw Rising in 1944. A Polish soldier emerges from the sewers, to find himself face to face with a German firing squad.

when Wadja offered to tack on a happy ending.

Why they object to the film so strongly I don't know. To deny that personal unhappiness exists seems to be taking "Brave New World" a bit far even for Communist bureaucrats!

### Indefinite leave

**SOLDIERS** of the Queen, rejoice! Racial discrimination in the British forces has just been removed.

Anyone who thought that colour meant nothing to the military hasn't been to Kenya recently. A short while ago the

cans, Coloureds and Indians have to belong to separate associations, which are controlled by the Whites and run on parallel lines (just like every other apartheid institution).

The most terrible thing of all is that these divisions were not forced by the Government down the throats of the movement, but were voluntarily introduced. Every Scout all over the world should offer his resignation to his parent organisation if the matter is not corrected at once. (Pity I already resigned because of all that stupid flag-saluting!)

Anyone who still thinks that people are powerless before tyrannical Governments

By Sybil Morrison

## PERSISTENT FALLACIES

*He (Lord Vansittart) failed to understand that his warnings could not have the slightest effect on a country sunk in pacifism and the Peace Ballot.—Earl of Birkenhead, Daily Telegraph, April 23, 1960.*

**THE** Earl of Birkenhead's review in the *Daily Telegraph* of a book about Vansittart, Lenin, Clemenceau and other "giants," appears, strangely enough, on the same page as a review by Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson of *THE FIRST WORLD WAR*, by Cyril Falls, in which he asserts that:

"The weakening of France, the rise of Hitler, and world-wide spread of nationalism were a direct result of the 1914-18 war and its aftermath."

It is significant, perhaps, that it is a soldier who sees the consequences of war in their real perspective, and the politician who looks for the scapegoat elsewhere and finds it at the opposite extreme.

These two opinions, one that the second world war was the result of pacifism in the years between, and the other that it was the direct result of the previous war cannot be taken as fully representative of divided public opinion, for the opinion put forward so assertively by the Earl of Birkenhead is the most generally expressed, and may, possibly, be the most widely held.

★

It is by no means uncommon to read, or to hear the view that Hitler was encouraged by pacifists in this country to think that Britain would not fight under any circumstances, and by the result of the Peace Ballot, to believe that Britain had disarmed.

These persistent fallacies have been dealt with here and elsewhere on more than one occasion, but as it seems that these legends simply will not die, it is, perhaps, worth yet another examination of the truth.

"Sunk in pacifism" is, of course, a derogatory phrase, and could only be used by someone who deplores and despises the

## LOOKING

## FORWARD

**WHAT** more suitable place could there be for the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union than the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hall? We will be





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## LOOKING FORWARD

**WHAT** more suitable place could there be for the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union than the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hall? We will be meeting there at 41, Fitzroy Square, on April 30 and May 1. All members are welcome, but admission is only by ticket which will be sent with an agenda on application to me, enclosing 2s. 6d.

There is a social gathering on April 30 from 7-9 p.m. which is open to all members and friends, but tickets, which are free, must be obtained in advance if you want to have light refreshments.

In addition to the motions which will be debated on Sunday, May 1, the activities of the PPU will be under review on the Saturday afternoon, when the statement of accounts and the estimates will also be discussed. Included in the estimates of income for 1960/61 is the item "Headquarters Fund £1,250," and that means that we aim to raise £1,250 during the year by means of this fortnightly appeal in Peace News.

I hope everyone will take a share in raising that amount, and if you cannot come to the AGM, will you please nevertheless help to approve of the estimates by sending a special AGM donation to Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund this week?

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Total received to date: £294.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street

London, W.C.1



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Racial discrimination in the British forces has just been removed.

Anyone who thought that colour meant nothing to the military hasn't been to Kenya recently. A short while ago the Secretary of State for War announced that for another five years non-European airmen serving in Aden would be denied the use of the leave centre at Nyali.

Within a week of this infamous statement the five years were suddenly reduced to zero. Of course, I go a little further than the Service Ministers. The next step is to let the forces have leave *whenever* they want.

### Our apartheid

**WHAT** a load of humbug about South Africa is being put around by the world's Top People. The problem for them is that to do anything effective just wouldn't be diplomatic or "responsible."

There is a lot that can be done, because the Government can only enforce apartheid so long as organisations and individuals co-operate with the foul policy.

The South African cricketers now in Britain are a clear case. They are each individually upholding a system that most of the world abhors. They have each been approached individually; not one of them has shown any indication of feeling a personal responsibility for supporting apartheid in sport.

Their captain's claim that responsibility lies solely with those who make policy is as ludicrous now as when it was advanced in 1945 by Nazi concentration camp guards.

The world-wide Boy Scout movement is another case. It, too, practises apartheid in South Africa. The Scout's fourth law runs: "A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class or creed the other may belong."

But only Whites may belong to the Boy Scouts' Association of South Africa. Afri-

cans, Coloureds and Indians have to belong to separate associations, which are controlled by the Whites and run on parallel lines (just like every other apartheid institution).

The most terrible thing of all is that these divisions were not forced by the Government down the throats of the movement, but were voluntarily introduced. Every Scout all over the world should offer his resignation to his parent organisation if the matter is not corrected at once. (Pity I already resigned because of all that stupid flag-saluting!)

Anyone who still thinks that people are powerless before tyrannical Governments has never heard of non-co-operation. It is *people*, not Governments, who are necessary for policies to be implemented.

### Humble workers

**MORE** than one Top Aldermarcher voiced over Easter the opinion that the tremendous support for the March this year was largely due to the hard work put in on a local group level.

King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nuclear Disarmament Society is a case in point. In the spring term it has doubled its membership from 35 to over 70 under the able secretaryship of Michael Down. This is not only a reflection of the greater popularity of the Campaign nationally but also of the hard work which is put in at a humble level.

Activities of the Society include a weekly bookstall in the Union, a periodical newsletter, the showing of the "Aldermaston 1958" film at the beginning of term, a public meeting at which Canon Collins spoke, a questionnaire survey by the Social Studies group of the Society aimed at gauging as well as arousing student opinion over unilateral disarmament.

The editor of the College newspaper *Courier* is a supporter of the Society and has published several articles sympathetic to CND.

*Peace News* which is sold on the Union bookstall is advertised on each membership card of the Society with the Society's aims.

The Society's "parting shot before Aldermaston" was an eighty-strong poster march through Newcastle. Let's hope that other Colleges and Universities are parting their shots as successfully as this.

—Phyz

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These persistent fallacies have been dealt with here and elsewhere on more than one occasion, but as it seems that these legends simply will not die, it is, perhaps, worth yet another examination of the truth.

"Sunk in pacifism" is, of course, a derogatory phrase, and could only be used by someone who deplores and despises the whole conception of abandonment of war; nevertheless, it is unfortunate that anyone so well educated as Earl Birkenhead should know no better than to confuse "pacifism" with "collective security."

It was believed by the members of the League of Nations Union, which body promoted and ran the Peace Ballot, that collective security would ensure peace. This, however, had nothing whatever to do with pacifism, and was not administered by any Society other than the League of Nations Union. None of the six questions to be answered in the Ballot dealt with any pacifist issue, but were all related to the possibility of an international agreement, and not to any British unilateral action.

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The last question, which invited people to say whether they believed in using economic or military measures against an aggressor was overwhelmingly in favour of collective military measures. It was quite clear that the vote, such as it was (nine million odd out of a population of 48 million) was not for the abandonment of arms, let alone war, but on the contrary for collective action and collective armaments.

If pacifism had really been heard, and had influenced public opinion during the years of intense anti-war feeling which followed upon the slaughter of a whole generation, there would not have been a Hitler determined to secure domination in Europe. But the influence of pacifism was met, not so much with apathy, as with the acceptance of a myth that a war had been fought to end wars, and this had been achieved.

Myths are much more difficult to deal with than rational arguments, and fallacies are far more rife than truth; the truth is that wars beget wars, and that pacifism, in fact, has never been tried. If ever the time was ripe to try it, that time is here and now, when it is so crystal clear that the only way out of the nuclear dilemma is the abandonment of war.



## NATO and Blue Streak...

IT is an offence against good manners to say "I told you so." But the temptation is so strong to do so this week, and the two points regarding which pacifists can boast of their sounder judgment are so important, that the lapse of manners may for once be forgiven.

First there is NATO and Field Marshal Lord Montgomery. *Peace News* and the Peace Pledge Union have been pounding away for years against the futility of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, saying time after time that it is provocative and that the Russians have no intention of launching an attack in Europe against the West. Now Lord Montgomery, former second-in-command of NATO, has just delivered himself (at Ottawa on April 22) of this declaration: "The communists have no idea of attacking the West. The continued occupation of Europe by American, British and Canadian forces is useless. I'd chuck it." It is a pity this comes so late. Quite a lot of money might have been saved and a good deal of progress been made to adjust our economy to what is really needed in the mid-twentieth century if the Montgomery mind had worked less slowly.

The second "I told you so" concerns Britain's defence by rockets. An admitted £65,000,000 (and an estimated £100,000,000) has been spent on the Blue Streak project in the pursuit of a policy both megalomaniac and stupid—megalomaniac because insistence upon a "great deterrent of our own" was always far beyond our financial resources. This type of weapon has such a long journey between drawing-board and trigger-ready installation on the launching site that there is never a state of completion. What is done in one year is outdated the next, and the whole process of research, first experimentation, testing and progress from prototype to series-production is not only fantastically costly but also costly on an ever-increasing scale. As for the stupidity of the policy that lay in the fact that fixed launching sites in Britain are sitting duck targets in the event of a rocket war with Russia. So, at long last, Mr. Sandys' obstinately pursued policy has been scrapped by his successor, Mr. Harold Watkinson.

### ... a forecast

BUT if present reports prove correct the abandonment of Blue Streak does not take Britain a single step nearer to contracting out of a nuclear war. The military mind has already found a new cure-all of offensive defence. This time it is to be an aerial missile with a range of 1,000 miles, to be launched from bomber planes. The missiles, named Skybolt, are to be bought from the Americans, and it is hoped (but far from certain) that Britain's existing V-bombers will do for the purpose after a certain amount of modification.

Nothing of all this can be tested before 1962 in America, and before about 1970 in Britain. There are also other complications, but of these it is not necessary to speak in view of a different scientific development, along the lines

## COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

reason to doubt that such an achievement will also become fact, and it may well do so in time to render Skybolt and its fast-moving bomber launching platforms obsolete. So it does not seem unreasonable to risk a new "I tell you now"—that the Skybolt project will in its turn join Blue Streak on the scrap-heap of military illusions.

### Syngman Rhee, dictator

THE best news of the week has come from Korea, where Syngman Rhee's twelve years of dictatorship have come to an end. Corruption, rigged elections and the suppression of every vestige of political opposition—always denounced as Communist-inspired—have been its main features. They went together with the inflexible determination to re-unite the country with North Korea, in an almost impossible ambition in any circumstances in the foreseeable future, and a totally impossible one as long as Syngman Rhee ruled at Seoul.

As far as can be seen at present the new régime will still be ultra conservative and therefore unlikely to prove successful even by conciliatory methods in bringing about the desired re-unification with the North. But it can at least be honest, which is more than Syngman Rhee's rule ever was. Is it too much to hope that the West, and the Americans in particular, may now have learned that not every politician whose anti-Communism is obviously sincere is therefore also bound to be a true friend of liberty and a defender of human rights?

President Eisenhower was at first reported to intend calling at Seoul on his way back to America from his coming visit to Moscow. Not much more than a personal row could be expected from that call unless the American President gave way on all points to the old dictator. Then, when the news of the Korean rioting and rebellion against Syngman Rhee came to hand, it became doubtful whether the Seoul visit would materialise. Now, with new men in control over South Korea, the visit is likely to do some good, particularly if the prior Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks at Moscow can have furthered East-West relaxation. It would be worth something to know that the number of the world's danger spots is being reduced by one.

### New Algerian war?

LE MONDE and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* were first in sounding the alarm about the possibility of the Algerian conflict becoming "internationalised." Last Sunday

Gaulle's ambiguous declarations on Algeria's future, worded obscurely enough to be capable of contradictory interpretations, so that the result has been to satisfy not one of the parties concerned. Above all, he has lost the confidence of the Algerian Liberation leaders as well as that of the French in Algeria. His "Peace of the Brave" no longer means anything to anybody, which is as it should be since it was never more than a grandiloquent figure of speech as long as the real leaders of the fight for independence were not to be recognised as negotiators.

The new worry is twofold. The half-expected renewal of intensive fighting this spring threatens to bring in the volunteers from Asian-African countries, an appeal for whose assistance was issued at the end of the Konakry conference.

That in itself is a first step towards spreading the fighting to people of other nations. But it is not all. There has also been an appeal for more and more modern weapons, in the use of which the native liberation forces will have to be trained by foreigners, so that there will be an influx of technicians. Pending the "Summit" Conference the Russians are holding back as much as they can consistent with their anxiety not to jeopardise their position as the best friends of the Asians and Africans.

But at least one East European government is reported to be in favour of stepping up its supply of armaments to the Algerians, to say nothing of the Chinese, who see in the situation a good opportunity for hitting back at the Powers which continue to exclude them from the United Nations, while at the same time furthering their own plans of Westward penetration.

### Chou En-Lai in India

MR. CHOU EN-LAI can hardly be surprised at the cool reception he received in India. At the same time it is worth noting in passing that the Indian people have set a fine example to those of supposedly more advanced countries by their strictly courteous behaviour to a man who, though practically an enemy, is also the guest of their own Prime Minister.

The differences between Asia's two most populous countries go deeper than the quarrel about a frontier line which must be admitted to be a contentious matter. The immediate trouble is that it is not a truly historical line but one fixed by an at the time all powerful British administration against a then particularly feeble China. To that considerable extent the Chinese have a good case. But their way of dealing with the issue, by direct military penetration, is not one which India could be expected to condone.

A first factor in the deeper causes of Chino-Indian difficulties can readily be seen in the recent take-over of Tibet, which has brought Chinese power right on to the doorstep of India, producing a situation in which militant Communism confronts India's spiritual attitude to life in open animosity. The antagonism is as crude as that between supporters of apartheid in South Africa and those who stand for political rights for the Africans. Deeper down yet there is the temperamental clash between the Chinese, who are industrialising



## ... a forecast

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Nothing of all this can be tested before 1962 in America, and before about 1970 in Britain. There are also other complications, but of these it is not necessary to speak in view of a different scientific development, along the lines of the "death ray" much talked about in the nineteen-thirties. The new discovery, as yet too hush-hush for particulars to be available, concerns the interception of missiles before they get near to their target in a process which will disintegrate them or their warheads.

At the present rate of scientific progress there seems no

visit to Moscow. Not much more than a personal one could be expected from that call unless the American President gave way on all points to the old dictator. Then, when the news of the Korean rioting and rebellion against Syngman Rhee came to hand, it became doubtful whether the Seoul visit would materialise. Now, with new men in control over South Korea, the visit is likely to do some good, particularly if the prior Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks at Moscow can have furthered East-West relaxation. It would be worth something to know that the number of the world's danger spots is being reduced by one.

## New Algerian war?

**L**E MONDE and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* were first in sounding the alarm about the possibility of the Algerian conflict becoming "internationalised." Last Sunday the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Observer* dealt with the same subject on the paper's front page; Monday morning's news brought the danger nearer with reports of a Tunisian accusation against France about border bombings.

Fundamentally the trouble lies of course in President de

gaule, and the immediate trouble is that it is not a contentious matter. But one fixed by an at the time all powerful British administration against a then particularly feeble China. To that considerable extent the Chinese have a good case. But their way of dealing with the issue, by direct military penetration, is not one which India could be expected to condone.

A first factor in the deeper causes of Chino-Indian difficulties can readily be seen in the recent take-over of Tibet, which has brought Chinese power right on to the doorstep of India, producing a situation in which militant Communism confronts India's spiritual attitude to life in open animosity. The antagonism is as crude as that between supporters of apartheid in South Africa and those who stand for political rights for the Africans. Deeper down yet there is the temperamental clash between the present-day Chinese, bent on industrialisation and quick progress towards equalling the West in material achievements, and the one people in the world so long-suffering and profoundly imbued with ethical values that it could succeed in following Gandhi's precepts and attaining its independence without the use of violence.

## Down on the (collective) farm

**T**HE forced collectivisation of farms in East Germany has resulted in 70,000 refugee farmers waiting for land in West Germany.

Well over 100,000 refugee farmers have been settled since 1945, but it "seems likely that saturation point has now been reached," *The Times'* Bonn correspondent reported last Friday.

The Bonn Government intends to publish a White Paper on the collectivisation of farms in East Germany.

## Votes for Negroes

**T**HE new US civil rights Bill was finally sent to the White House on April 21, after nearly three months of manoeuvre and compromise.

The Bill is essentially concerned with the Negro franchise, but has been widely interpreted as leaving much to the initiative of Negro applicants for registration as voters.

## Russia's new 'civilians'

**R**ECRUITING for Civil Defence continues in Russia, though with little publicity, according to a *Daily Telegraph* report of April 21.

Already a membership of millions is claimed for the "Voluntary Society for

Co-operation with the Army, Navy and Air Force."

The organisation is under direct supervision of the Party Central Committee, which requires it to "pay particular attention to the recruitment of the broad masses of the younger generation for instruction in the fundamentals of military training."

## S. Rhodesia's prisoners

**T**HE Southern Rhodesian Government announced on April 21 that it had decided to release 34 Africans held under the state of emergency since February, 1959, as political prisoners.

After these releases 54 would still be held as political prisoners—14 in prison and 40 in restricted areas.

## 11 years in condemned cell

**C**ARYL CHESSMAN is "resigned to die" in the gas chamber next Monday, May 2.

His sixteenth appeal to the US Supreme Court was rejected last Monday. He has survived nine previous dates set for his

execution, the last of which—on February 19—at only 10 hours' notice.

## Hiroshima (cont.)

**T**HE twelfth Hiroshima victim this year has died in a Tokyo hospital.

She was Mrs. Mitsue Tsunoda, 47, wife of a lawyer. According to a Japanese National News Agency report of April 17 she succumbed to a radiation disease contracted from the first atomic bomb, dropped over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.



**In South Africa** Mr. Erasmus, Minister of Justice, told Parliament last Friday that so far 1,569 people had been detained under the emergency regulations, including 94 Whites, 24 Coloured and 1,451 Africans.

**Mau Mau**—its origins, growth and method—is the subject of the Corfield Report, which is expected to be tabled in the Kenya Legislative Council on May 3. The document, received by the Kenya Government six months ago, is "about the size of two telephone directories."

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

**A US Navy missile** fired from Vandenberg, California, air force base at 2 p.m. on Monday went out of control and headed north toward Oakland. Aircraft were unable to catch it, but it was later found in the Pacific.

**The South African cricketers** open their controversial all-White tour of England at Worcester next Wednesday, May 4.

## PEACE NEWS

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## The Boycott

I WAS very surprised that the national Boycott Movement should ask people to continue the boycott after the original date for it to end—March 31.

I was a keen supporter of the boycott because I believed its sole aim to be that of publicising the conditions of natives in the Union of South Africa. The boycott and its publicity achieved that, and Sharpeville did a great deal more.

Surely now there is no need to continue the boycott as the plight of natives in South Africa is well known, and its only result will be to increase the hardship of those we are trying to help.

I supported the boycott because it was a token measure, and had the support of ex-Chief Luthuli. A continuation of the boycott will surely only be sticking another white dagger into the African. Now that the situation has altered so much in the Union I should have thought that there are many better ways of helping the coloured population than helping to take their work away from them. They need work more than anything else now to help make up lost earnings.

I think it is true to say that since the Sharpeville massacre those in England who are most anxious to help their coloured brethren have gone a little hysterical. Perhaps this is understandable. But rash decisions on short term policies are not always going to be to the long term advantage of the Africans. I do pray that we in England who hate apartheid will not let our hate override our love for the Africans.—**MICHAEL WRIGHT, Chichester, Sussex.**

## Visitors to Britain

THE Servas Work-Study-Travel system is known to many of your readers. We concentrate on organising serious study trips.

However, since coming to Germany, I have had so many enquiries of a slightly different kind with which some people in England might be glad to help. They are mainly from older teenagers, about longer terms of hospitality than Servas people can offer. A young boy of 17 from East Germany, a number of young students, a shy but clever 15-year-old girl, a partially disabled 20-year-old who could help with housework, speaks English and is

contacts and realise just how important a good first impression of a foreign country is. If there are any enquiries about the above cases I would be pleased to deal with them directly, but what we really need is a person who will take over the responsibility for co-ordinating such enquiries and answers in Britain.

They would find it an exceedingly interesting and worthwhile piece of work.—**PAT KNOWLES, European Secretary, Servas, Hamburg 39, Klarchenstr 11.**

## Helping FSU children

I WONDER if any of your readers could invite a child from a poor home to stay with them this summer.

Family Service Units is a voluntary organisation which is helping parents who have been overwhelmed by domestic problems to make a better home for their children. In the ten industrial cities where we work we know many children who

would benefit from a holiday in different surroundings, and each year we arrange for a few to stay in private houses. The children often come from homes lacking material comforts and happy relationships. To be welcomed to an ordinary home by someone with sympathy and understanding for children is both a holiday and a valuable new experience for them.

We select the children, arrange their journeys and see that they are free from illness and have a minimum of clothing. Problems of selection and geographical situation may mean that we cannot accept every offer, but I shall be very pleased to send further particulars to anyone who will write to me.—**DAVID JONES, Secretary, Family Service Units, 25 St. Mary's Grove, London, N.1.**

## Tax refusal

I THINK we are much more likely to make people into pacifists if we show

them we are reasonable folk than if we establish a reputation for queer behaviour, as I think Pat Arrowsmith (PN, April 8) is asking us to do.

I advocate abiding by democracy, and democracy has decided to institute a tax system—for education as well as for war. I do not oppose income tax as such, but I make it clear that I oppose all armaments expenditure. The responsibility (as Donald Soper once said) for spending taxes on arms is the government's, democratically elected. I cannot hold myself responsible for how they use the taxes, once I have made my position clear.

Refusing to pay may be attractive, but suppose everybody who disagreed with any expenditure item did the same? We must allow everybody else to do as we propose to do and the successful advocacy of tax refusal would, I suggest, reveal the complete irresponsibility of such a movement.—**RON BARNES, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgewater.**

# Cheats!

ON the evening of Easter Sunday, four or five children were standing by a bus stop near Kew Bridge. A bus drew up, several Aldermaston marchers jumped on. "Cheats!" shouted the children, joyfully.

It is possible to cry "Cheat!" in more measured language, and the sheer size of the Aldermaston demonstration has provoked some of the orthodox to do this, if only to soften the impact a little. The *Sunday Times* last week, for example, gravely noted that many teenagers took part in the Aldermaston march, and that no one would turn to the average teenager for counsel on matters vitally affecting the safety of the state and the peace of the world.

Easter Monday's *Daily Telegraph* cast a philosophic eye over the long, long road to general disarmament, and remarked that the march from Aldermaston to London was much shorter. "It has soothed your consciences and flattered your vanity. But

train afterwards, one still seemed to hear the marching songs:

*A mighty song of friendship, freedom,  
justice, unity and peace will soon be  
ringing*

*All over this land. . .*

But this sentiment will hardly stand up to rational examination. It is like Christians singing "We are not divided, all one body we," or Tories declaring that Britain is a land of hope and glory, or Socialists promising to build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. Tuneful and exhilarating, maybe, but not an expression of the whole personality. An emotional satisfaction is obtained on the cheap. A cheat, in fact.

This, I think, is the issue that underlies one of the more interesting attacks on the Aldermaston march—Henry Fairlie's in the *Daily Mail*. He argues that none of the distinguished names among the leaders of CND "would be prepared to accept the dreadful choices which are imposed on men of power," and that the Campaign stands for nothing identifiable in the way of a policy. It is only a rabble of anxious ex-

ing British interests might have an adverse effect on the sentiment in favour of disarmament. In just the same way, a vague sentiment against apartheid will soon wither up if one emigrates to South Africa, or even moves to some parts of Notting Hill.

Even so, a vague sentiment against apartheid is better than a vague sentiment in its favour. It creates an atmosphere in which the building of an equalitarian world is possible. CND is creating an atmosphere in which the world can live without war. Even the cheats will have contributed something.

By  
**Geoffrey  
Carnall**

Photo by courtesy of  
the Belfast Telegraph.





## Visitors to Britain

THE Servas Work-Study-Travel system is known to many of your readers. We concentrate on organising serious study trips.

However, since coming to Germany, I have had so many enquiries of a slightly different kind with which some people in England might be glad to help. They are mainly from older teenagers, about longer terms of hospitality than Servas people can offer. A young boy of 17 from East Germany, a number of young students, a shy but clever 15-year-old girl, a partially disabled 20-year-old who could help with some housework, speaks English, and is good with children, a young physiotherapist seeking work and contacts, and so on, most of them from internationally minded Servas families.

At the same time, we hear of many unsuitable and disappointing "pen friend"

It is possible to cry "in more measured language, and the sheer size of the Aldermaston demonstration has provoked some of the orthodox to do this, if only to soften the impact a little. The *Sunday Times* last week, for example, gravely noted that many teenagers took part in the Aldermaston march, and that no one would turn to the average teenager for counsel on matters vitally affecting the safety of the state and the peace of the world.

Easter Monday's *Daily Telegraph* cast a philosophic eye over the long, long road to general disarmament, and remarked that the march from Aldermaston to London was much shorter. "It has soothed your consciences and flattered your vanity. But has it not also stopped you thinking?"

## PETULANCE

Now, one's first impression here is that the writer of the article is just being petulant. After all, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has started a great deal more fundamental thinking than any other political movement in recent years. It is a strong reaction against a kind of sleep-walking acquiescence in the nuclear arms race, and without such a reaction it is clear that we should not have got even the little progress towards disarmament that has been made so far. The *Daily Telegraph* may think a determination to press ahead with disarmament unilaterally is misguided, but that is another matter.

On the other hand, it isn't unreasonable to question the depth of pacific conviction represented by the march. One of the most vivid memories for everyone on it, I suppose, is the cheerful, confident music, accompanied in our Irish part of the column by a gay concertina. Sitting in the

British singing "we are not divided, all one body we," or Tories declaring that Britain is a land of hope and glory, or Socialists promising to build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. Tuneful and exhilarating, maybe, but not an expression of the whole personality. An emotional satisfaction is obtained on the cheap. A cheat, in fact.

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This last question is sadly familiar to pacifists, who are invariably told they are making their appeals to the wrong address. As for the exhibitionists, the *Daily Mail* itself allowed that most of the marchers looked quite normal. The fundamental argument, however, is worth thinking about. Is it yet possible to imagine what it would feel like to take responsible decisions in a government pledged to thoroughgoing disarmament?

## INFLUENCE

I think it is, just about. The expensive futility of the Blue Streak missile is making public opinion receptive to a hitherto difficult idea—that military power is not the most effective way of exerting influence in the present era of world-wide racial and ideological conflict. Over a quarter of British voters are now willing to accept unilateral nuclear disarmament, according to the last Gallup Poll on the subject. It is quite possible that future British governments won't have to worry too much about attacks on "selling the pass" by giving up our military strength.

But how deep does this support for disarmament go? Is it a cheat? Would many people really be willing to accept the consequences of living without the capacity for military action? There is still a strong jingo element in British public opinion, and another international crisis directly involv-

Photo by courtesy of the Belfast Telegraph.

ing British interests might have an adverse effect on the sentiment in favour of disarmament. In just the same way, a vague sentiment against apartheid will soon wither up if one emigrates to South Africa, or even moves to some parts of Notting Hill.

Even so, a vague sentiment against apartheid is better than a vague sentiment in its favour. It creates an atmosphere in which the building of an equalitarian world is possible. CND is creating an atmosphere in which the world can live without war. Even the cheats will have contributed something.

## PEACE NEWS BOARD

DEEP appreciation of the considerable services rendered to Peace News by Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison was expressed by the Board of *Peace News* when their resignations over a matter of policy were accepted with regret at the Annual Meeting of the Board recently.

Three new members who have joined the Board are the Rev. Philip Eastman, International Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Derek Walker, Assistant Editor of *The British Weekly* and Editor of "Kingsway" magazine; and Arthur Taylor, Chairman of the Birmingham National Peace Council.

Three other members of the 14-member Board, J. Allen Skinner, Geoffrey Tattersall and Wilfred Wellock, whose term of office had expired, were re-elected.

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# Non-violence and Africa's future

## ● FROM PAGE TWO

tell whether or not in desperation France, who now possesses such a weapon, may not use it either in Algeria or on the rest of us? Besides, we are not in possession of all of the improved implements of war; with South Africa, as a clear example, using jet warplanes, armoured cars, dum-dum bullets, who can tell, if we are not cautious and sagacious in the conduct of our affairs, what these and like desperadoes may not do? There is no fear of death in us, but we, none of us, would or should wish to die the death of Abner."

Advocates of violence, he said, had a perfect right to do that; his delegation felt that there were other and perhaps more effective methods.

## ALGERIAN WAR

**B**UT non-violence was certainly not accepted by all delegates.

The Algerian war creates a situation in which it is both emotionally and politically almost impossible for African leaders to repudiate violent methods completely. The urge towards independence and the ties of kinship between various countries struggling towards independence are stronger than any preference for non-violent methods.

After five years of bloody struggle involving tremendous loss of life and suffering for the Algerian people it is not easy to say to Algerian leaders "your methods are wrong so we cannot support you."

Africa feels about Algeria rather as the West felt about the Hungarian uprising in 1956, only the Algerian war has gone on for years instead of days.

So the Liberian delegate immediately went on to say:

"In the extreme causes where violence may be inescapable, it is our view that every possible assistance should be rendered those beleaguered in such a struggle—by all of us."

So the resolutions adopted on the French tests and liberation movements stressed training centres in non-violent action, yet the resolution on Algeria affirmed the Tunis Conference decision that armed brigades

*The following is an extract from the editorial last week in the Quaker Journal, The Friend.*

**A**S the 1960 March approached its end three per cent of the entire strength of the Society of Friends out of England, Wales and Scotland was actually marching at that time.

Probably at least another one per cent had been in the March at some other point during its four days, or had been an active auxiliary to it.

"Three per cent?" says somebody. "Is that all that a religious Society corporately committed to saying 'No' to all war could muster?"—momentarily not realising that this is an incredibly high percentage of the membership, not of a marching club, but of a church, comprising in its whole membership the young, the old, the just-born and the dying, the sick as well as the hale, the sedentary as well as the active, the shy as well as the bold, people of every different kind of temperament, inclination and capacity—to be actually out on the road, in one place and in one day, dropping everything for one limited purpose, and for a bizarre, physically costing and extremely public expression of it at that. Three per cent of them went in for this March, boots, blisters and all, right up to the neck.

This March, incidentally—and this, too, is hard to credit—was joined by 0.1 per cent

of the whole population of this country. One in every thousand persons. But one in every thirty Quakers . . .

## Community of feeling

These Quaker statistics, indicating (we have suggested) an extraordinary degree of community of feeling among Friends about the March and its purpose, are of course of very minor interest to anybody else except Friends themselves . . . consider and observe that much more important phenomenon, the whole amazing 1960 March.

For every Quaker in the March, on its final leg, there were forty-nine other people; so that the thing the Quakers stood for, these three hundred years, can now be argued to have spread over a vastly larger company of Britons.

Still thinking statistically, we are tempted to take two further, and more hazardous, steps. We are tempted, first, to assume that, if a three per cent turnout of Quakers can be accepted as good evidence of a remark-

able solidarity on the subject among the community of 30,000 to which they belong, this 0.1 per cent of the whole population, marching to Trafalgar Square, could be evidence of solidarity with them of perhaps thirty times that number (or three per cent of the whole population of this country). And second, we are tempted to make another leap from this second three per cent and think that three per cent of convinced persons can be a mighty enough lever to change the ruling policies of the country. This precarious house of cards, of one three per cent, and another on top of that, must doubtless fall flat. But it looks as if the tools of change are indeed being forged, and that the distant end of a very long road is coming appreciably nearer . . .

## The United Nations in action

**Brian G. Cooper reviews**

**The Small Flag**, by Jordan Halck. Jonathan Cape. 15s.

**T**HE life and work of the men of the United Nations Observers' teams gets little publicity.

Except at moments of crisis they are anonymous figures, their work seemingly remote, their praises unsung; this is the fault of the twisted scale of values (including real news value) that permeates the mass-media in our day. Yet few subjects could be more contemporary, relevant, and challenging than UNO in action, and a novel on this theme is very welcome.

THE SMALL FLAG depicts the hazards and tensions besetting four UNO observers stationed along a demarcation line between two states, Dorano and Rutonesia, which dispute the region of Bordestan. The author, who is a Danish soldier, spent a year as a military observer for UNO in Kashmir, and his narrative faithfully reflects the multi-coloured mosaic of South-East Asia: grinding poverty along side

## TO HELP WORLD REFUGEE YEAR





to say to African leaders "your methods are wrong so we cannot support you."

Africa feels about Algeria rather as the West felt about the Hungarian uprising in 1956, only the Algerian war has gone on for years instead of days.

So the Liberian delegate immediately went on to say :

"In the extreme causes where violence may be inescapable, it is our view that every possible assistance should be rendered those beleaguered in such a struggle —by all of us."

So the resolutions adopted on the French tests and liberation movements stressed training centres in non-violent action, yet the resolution on Algeria affirmed the Tunis Conference decision that armed brigades should be recruited for Algeria. So Ghanaian papers featured photographs of a Ghanaian volunteer corps for Algeria, carrying a large banner with a skull on it, side by side with speeches on non-violence! And so Nkrumah has given £10,000 to the Algerian cause.

This dichotomy is quite inconsistent from a pacifist point of view, but it is natural when non-violence is looked on primarily as a strategy, not as a basic principle. It is also compatible with Gandhi's belief that it is better to fight than to deny one's manhood by cowardly submission.

There was of course some log rolling in favour of the Algerian FLN at the Conference. The United Arab Republic delegate made a speech emphasising the right of the Algerians to fight and he announced that a bureau had been opened in Cairo for the registering of volunteers "to fight side by side with their Algerian brothers."

The Algerians were also warmly supported by the Indian representative of the World Peace Council who congratulated the All-African Peoples' Conference on its decision to set up an All-African Volunteer Brigade.

"If the African people," he said, "should decide to permit the peoples of other continents to join this Brigade, rest assured that members and supporters of the World Peace Council and of its national committees will be among the first to send their names for inclusion in the International Brigade."

April Carter concludes her article next week with a discussion of the many problems which must be overcome if successful non-violent action is to be taken in Africa, and also factors which must be taken into account in establishing a training centre in non-violent action.



Halil Muhadraj has two wives and six children. He is 42 years old and grew up in a primitive mountain village in Albania. He is illiterate, and when one of his brothers died, he took the fiancée as his second wife, in accordance with tradition and believing this to be legal. Only when he became a refugee in 1951 did he discover he would be labelled as a bigamist and refused emigration. Here he poses with his two wives, his sister-in-law, and two children. The others were at school. The older members of the family speak only Albanian and are allowed to buy and cook their own food in accordance with Moslem tradition. Recently, Halil was given a chance to go to Sardinia where film star Don Murray initiated a special scheme for refugee farmers, but returned a fortnight later, saying the authorities did not understand the Moslem way of life. Problems like this one are likely to defeat even the most resolute welfare agencies.

**A page from Kaye Webb's and Ronald Searle's report in words and pictures on REFUGEES 1960 (Penguin Special, 2s. 6d.) All the profits from the sale of the book will go to World Refugee Year.**

## THOREAU ON INJUSTICE

"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is in prison . . . that separate but more free and honourable ground, where the State places those who are not with her but against her—the only house in a slave State in which a free man can enter.

"If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer

afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person."

—Henry David Thoreau (1817-62), who went to prison because he refused to pay taxes to a Government which returned fugitive slaves to the South.

remote, they praise it as a praiseworthy fault of the twisted scale of values (including real news value) that permeates the mass-media in our day. Yet few subjects could be more contemporary, relevant, and challenging than UNO in action, and a novel on this theme is very welcome.

THE SMALL FLAG depicts the hazards and tensions besetting four UNO observers stationed along a demarcation line between two states, Dorano and Rutonesia, which dispute the region of Bordestan. The author, who is a Danish soldier, spent a year as a military observer for UNO in Kashmir, and his narrative faithfully reflects the multi-coloured mosaic of South-East Asia: grinding poverty along side riotous affluence, the grandiose and dangerous territorial ambitions of fanatical nationalist generals, the resentment of some against UNO's efforts for a negotiated peace, and the frustration of attempts to build a new, post-imperialist society when sidetracked by militaristic preoccupations.



The characters, and especially their reactions in unfamiliar circumstances, are carefully portrayed. Harvester, an American; Bellamy, an Englishman; Helmers, a Dane; and Vermuelen, a South African; are all former officers of their national armies, and the quirks and antique quality of their respective patriotisms contrast strangely with the international responsibilities they successfully shoulder.

They are in themselves a microcosm of the greatest political challenge the world has ever known, and if this book forces its readers to ponder the basic conflict between patriotism and internationalism, it will have more than served its purpose. The necessity for education in global-mindedness and the sense of world responsibility, together with the development of UN citizenship, form its implicit message.

Moving slowly at first, the book gathers momentum towards a thrilling climax in which the attempt of a ruthless underground organisation to break the Armistice and re-open hostilities is stopped by the heroic self-sacrifice of one of the observers. Apart from the fact that the romantic passages fall painfully near the level of a woman's weekly, the book combines action, strong personalities, exotic background and a tense situation in a very readable narrative. It is not didactic, yet certainly is a novel with a message for the 1960s.



# CLASSIFIED

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## MEETINGS

**FRIENDS HOUSE,** Euston Road, N.W.1. Sunday, May 1 at 6.30 p.m.: "Stone Walls do not a Prison Make." Speaker: Phyllis Taunton Wood.

**WEEKEND,** May 6-9, Residential Course at Braziers on "Life and Philosophy of Gandhi," £3 8s. 6d. Particulars from Warden, Braziers, Ipsden, Oxon.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

**HOVE:** Pax House, for individual attention, good food and homely atmosphere, h & c. Alfred & Maile Roth, 17, Melville Rd., Hove 2, Sussex. Telephone 70945.

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**A CENTRE OF FELLOWSHIP—Great Frenches Park,** Cophorne, Crawley Down, Sussex. Offers excellent facilities for all in quest of restful country holidays; small group welcomed too. Write: Rev. Arthur Peacock.

## PERSONAL

**DUPLICATING,** shorthand, typing, translations. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Rd., London, N.11. ENT 3324.

**IF YOU SHOP** at a Co-op., please give this number when making your next purchase: L336943. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

**INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL.** Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

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**WELL EDUCATED WOMAN,** 43, vegetarian, small reasonably personable, even tempered and with sense of humour, would like to meet unattached gentleman for sincere friendship, Manchester area. Interests: music and arts, psychic subjects. Good home background. Box No. 850.

## BIRTHS

**RENDALL DAVIES—**on Sunday, April 24, 1960, at 1 Greenwood Gardens, London, N.13., to Beryl and Trefor Rendall Davies, a fourth daughter—Nesta.

## EXHIBITIONS

**HUNGARY** in pictures, with examples of peasant folk art, pottery, book publications: at Collet's Foreign Bookshop, 45 Museum Street, W.C.1. May 2-14.

## LITERATURE

**FREE INTRODUCTION.** Send us the names and addresses of friends likely to be interested in Peace News. They will receive complimentary copies and an invitation to take eight weeks' trial subscription for 2s. 6d. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

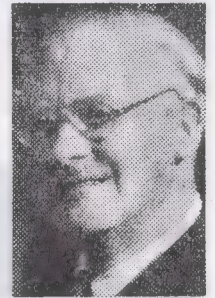
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A PRIME MINISTER IS HERE, HOPING TO WIN

# Birthday date with freedom

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



**THE** speed of advance surprises even those of us who are optimists. West and East Africa contribute the latest examples.

A delegation from Sierra Leone is now in London to confer with the Colonial Office. Independence is not in dispute: the date is the only issue. The delegation wants it on December 7 to celebrate the birthday of Prime Minister Sir Milton Margai.

Sir Milton is an unusual African leader. He is a politician by accident. For 22

## INDEPENDENCE FOR SIERRA LEONE

years he was a medical officer, quiet, modest, content to serve. Then he was stirred by an injustice to his fellow-tribesmen of the interior Protectorate; they had a larger population than the more sophisticated coastal colony and he felt they should have larger representation in the Legislature. He formed the Sierra Leone Peoples' Party and gained a majority in 1951. There is now general support for inaugurating independence on his birthday because he has united the Protectorate and the Colony.

It is uncertain, however, whether the Colonial Office will agree to go so fast. Its experts are saying that the time is too short to get through the necessary technical arrangements.

The more radical elements are demanding adult suffrage. They point to the fact that everyone now votes for the Legislature in the interior of Nigeria. Why not in Sierra Leone?

Next month delegates will be in London from British Somaliland. They will ask for unity with Somalia and independence on July 1. Somalia has been a United Nations trusteeship territory and will become independent on that date.

Representatives of the Governments of Somalia and British Somaliland have met and have resolved that "full and complete independence and unification of the two

The Colonial Office will have to speed. It had better decide that British Somaliland become independent on June 30.

The settlers in Belgian Congo are becoming panicky about independence on June 30. They have exported all the money they can, and apparently large numbers are preparing to export themselves, temporarily at least. The Times (20.4.60) reports that between April and June some 17,000 passages are said to have been booked out of the Congo.

Many settlers are going to Kitwe and Ndola across the border in Northern Rhodesia. How Sir Roy Welensky will welcome

White recruits! He will be disappointed to learn, however, that most intend to return to the Belgian Congo, even a Belgian Congo under African rule. It is the stresses among Africans immediately following independence which they wish to avoid.

The truth is there is more danger of inter-tribal than of inter-racial strife. The leading African representatives have agreed in principle on six federated autonomous states representing the main tribes, but the degree of autonomy will not be decided until after independence. One hopes that the tribal leaders will be able to restrain their followers until this is resolved.

Meanwhile, the drama of Central Africa moves towards climax. Dr. Banda, Mr.

**CENTRAL AFRICA DRAMA** Macleod and the Governor of Nyasaland will

confer in July. Or will they? Dr. Banda has said that he will not negotiate until those detained with him are released. Mr. Macleod has promised only that the majority will be released.

And Mr. Macleod is clearly not confident of the outcome of any conference. He was very reserved in the

Edgar fears that in the future "some idiot" might use these powers. He means a Labour Government might.

Also in London is a delegation headed by Michael Mahwema, president of the National Democratic Party, the new African organisation in Southern Rhodesia replacing the suppressed Congresses. They insist that Britain retain its powers until Africans are widely franchised. At present only 2,000 Africans have a vote in an electorate of nearly 70,000.

From Africa to Asia. It is good news that the twelve year emergency in Malaya

**A TWELVE-YEAR EMERGENCY** is to end on July 31. The jungle war has been a sorry story, with more than 12,000 persons killed. Expenditure this last year has been £6,500,000, and that is lower than in previous years.

One mourns with the bereaved. One mourns the loss of schools and health services which the expenditure could have met.

The conflict began with individual Communist assassinations of European plantation managers. The rebels grew strong as resentment grew against the military methods used; the bombing of villages and the burning of villagers' huts. The war could have been ended two years ago by negotiation.

The emergency is to end, but, as in many African countries, the practice of detention without trial is to persist. And apparently British and Australian troops are to remain as a Commonwealth strategic reserve.

The presence of foreign troops is opposed by the Opposition, including the Malayan Labour Party. Commonwealth Governments will want to know what this Commonwealth reserve is.

I've been reviewing other countries, but my mind, like that of my readers, is still

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#### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri., 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5, Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

## Every week!

#### SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello Market. 10 a.m. onwards. Propaganda for Peace Bookstall; also children's and miscellaneous fiction. Porchester Group PPU.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

## St. Christopher School

### LETCHWORTH

A school community of some 400 boys and girls (between 5 and 18 years) and 100 adults practising education on sane and successful modern lines. Applications now being considered for next year.

arrangements.

The more radical elements are demanding adult suffrage. They point to the fact that everyone now votes for the Legislature in the interior of Nigeria. Why not in Sierra Leone?

Next month delegates will be in London from British Somaliland. They will ask for unity with Somalia and independence on July 1. Somalia has been a United Nations trusteeship territory and will become independent on that date.

Representatives of the Governments of Somalia and British Somaliland have met and have resolved that "full and complete independence and unification of the two territories be solemnly proclaimed on July 1, 1960, under one flag, one President, one Parliament and one Government." I like the dignity and confidence of that declaration.

The Colonial Office had not planned independence for British Somaliland so soon, and the snag is that only an independent Government can constitutionally decide on unification with Somalia.

## DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Saturday, April 30

LEATHERHEAD: 1.30 p.m. Ruxley Lane (Kingston Road end) Nuclear Disarmament March, Open Air meetings en route Epsom YCND.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall, Upper High St., Social (following March) 2s. 6d. Epsom YCND.

#### Friday, April 29—Sunday, May 1

DEERFIELD, Mass. USA: 8 p.m. Friday till noon Sunday—Woolman Hill, Quaker Conference Centre. Weekend discussion led by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty. Cost \$14.00 American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. Tel. UN 4-3150.

#### Saturday-Sunday, April 30-May 1

LONDON, W.1: 2 p.m. Saturday: 10.30 a.m. Sunday. Mahatma Gandhi Hall, 41 Fitzroy Square. Peace Pledge Union AGM. Admission by ticket members only.

#### Monday, May 2

BENTLEY (nr. Farnham): 7.30 p.m. Bentley Memorial Hall: Debate on Nuclear Disarmament. Speakers from local Labour and Liberal Parties and Alton and District CND.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting—"Nyasaland & Africa's Future." Dr. Hastings Banda, Mrs. Barbara Castle, MP, Mr. Chris Chataway, MP, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, MP, Chairman: Dr. T. O. Elias. Appeal by Mr. James Cameron. Tickets from Africa Bureau, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1.

LONDON, W.2: 7.45 p.m. 16 Westbourne Park Road, (Porchester Road end) "Aggressive Toys—their Effect on Children." Speaker: Senior Psychiatric Social Worker of a Child Guidance Clinic. Porchester PPU.

#### Tuesday, May 3

BIRMINGHAM 2: 10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m. Rooms 3 and 5, Chamber of Commerce, 95 New St.

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#### CENTRAL AFRICA DRAMA

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And Mr. Macleod is clearly not confident of the outcome of any conference. He was very reserved in the Commons when we questioned him. In the background are Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead and the Rhodesian settlers.

Sir Edgar is in London, demanding that all British control of Southern Rhodesia shall end. Not that it amounts to much in practice. Theoretically, the British Government has power to veto the legislation of the Whites, particularly discriminatory legislation, but it has never done so. Sir

Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal. Public admitted.

#### Wednesday, May 4

SOUTHEND: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting. Ho., Dundonald Drive, Leigh. Speaker: Stuart Morris on "Disarmament." PPU.

#### Thursday, May 5

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. "For and the PPU." Rev. Motley, Leytonstone PPU.

#### Friday, May 6

IPSDEN: Start of weekend course on the "Life and Philosophy of Gandhi." Braziers Park, Ipsden, Oxen. Details from Director of Studies, School of Integrative Social Research.

#### Monday, May 9

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Road. Group Meeting. "Passionate Pacifists—an Area Organiser's Dream." Speaker: Myrtle Solomon. PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. City Memorial Hall. Peace Forum. Panel Members: Vera Brittain, Rev. R. G. Jones, MA, BD, J. Allen Skinner. Chairman: Councillor Mrs. M. Jowett. Sheffield PPU.

#### Tuesday, May 10

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute (Sunbridge Room). "The Problems of Peace in 1960." Speaker: Vera Brittain. PPU.

LONDON, N.1: 7.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross. "Consequences of Disarmament." Speaker: Stuart Morris. Refreshments. LPF.

#### Wednesday, May 11

HUDDERSFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Fraternity Hall, Alfred St., Discussion "Peace Problems of 1960" introduced by Vera Brittain: Chair Councillor E. L. Thackray. PPU, Women's Co-op Guild, CND.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting on South Africa. Speaker: The Bishop of Johannesburg. Chairman: Lord Pakenham. Christian Action.

#### Friday, May 13

BRISTOL: 6-7 p.m. 6 Ashgrove Road, Redland. Speaker on Nyasaland. Discussion. Bristol PPU Groups.

#### Saturday, May 14

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. Methodist School Room. Film Show, "Children of Hiroshima." Speaker: Austin Underwood. Alton and District CND.

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 81 Clarendon Park Rd. "Early Days of Peace News." Des. Oliver. PPU.

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I've been reviewing other countries, but my mind, like that of my readers, is still mostly on South Africa.

**THANK YOU, GHANA!**

All of us have been thrilled by Ghana's decision to provide not only travelling papers for the refugees but the actual means of transport. This proves the sincerity of President Nkrumah's declaration of African unity. It is solidarity in action.

Thank you, Ghana!

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# TRIBUNE

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# S. AFRICA: £50,000 DAILY ON INTIMIDATION

*Basil Delaine cables from Johannesburg*

## German march

*Some 500 Germans (plus a British contingent of 11) on Good Friday started a four-day, sixty-mile, protest march against their country's nuclear weapons policy.*

*Two young Hamburg teachers and war-resisters, Hans-Konrad Tempel and Helga Stolle, who could face treason charges for their activities against rocket bases, played a leading part in its organisation. Frances Edwards reports:*

**WE** marched in four columns, from Hamburg, Brunswick, Hanover and Bremen.

On the first day we had icy winds, hail, rain and even a little snow, but we were inspired by the good spirit of our young companions and their determination. The onlookers' reactions were wary, rather surprised and non-committal.

The press paid very little attention to us, but for a small part of the march we had TV cameras trained on us and that evening viewers in Western Germany saw us linked with the Aldermaston March.

There were about 1,000 at the final rally, held only 200 yards from Belsen concentration camp, with the marks of NATO tanks visible close to the Wall of Remembrance.

Tremendous difficulties face the German pacifists and nuclear disarmers. If people like Helga and Konrad got to prison they will never be able to teach in Germany again. The trade unions will not fight for them.

**INTIMIDATION—BY ORDER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THAT IS NOW THE CHIEF FEATURE OF ACTIVITIES HERE. AND THIS IS HOW THE NATIONALIST REGIME HAS SET ABOUT IT.**

Citizen Force troops—costing £50,000 a day—are everywhere. Barracks are surrounded by barbed wire entanglements, and young White soldiers, scabbarded bayonets swinging from their webbing belts, swagger away off duty hours in city streets.

In open spaces the troops drill—and give displays of unarmed combat and the “new” technique of dealing with rioters by using rifle butts as clubs. All this is to give confidence to the Whites and to fill Black hearts with fear.

Meanwhile Africans in townships at East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town are subjected to dawn and night raids by large forces of police and troops. Hundreds have been detained or arrested.

In a dawn raid on Wednesday of last week 200 police supported by armoured cars swooped on Duncan village township (East London) and detained 345 Africans, bringing the total held in East London in three days to 752.

## “Undesirables”

Police officials described the detainees as “loafers and undesirables.”

But it is not only non-Whites who live in fear of police intimidation. There are several White professional men in Johannesburg who spend each night “on the run.”

These people fear political arrest. They are White South Africans with the courage to have spoken out over the years against the folly of apartheid. They treat non-Whites as human beings.

One young professional man told me: “I am a one-man business. If I were detained it would be financially disastrous.

who were not officially informed of his detention.

Into this week of uneasy peace sailed British comedian Tommy Trinder—who wasn't funny. Trinder must be just the type of immigrant the Nationalist Government would welcome. Fortunately he is here only on a short tour of night clubs. What Trinder told the press can only be excelled in fatuousness by Cabinet Minister de Wet Nels' statement last week that race relations in the Union have never been better.

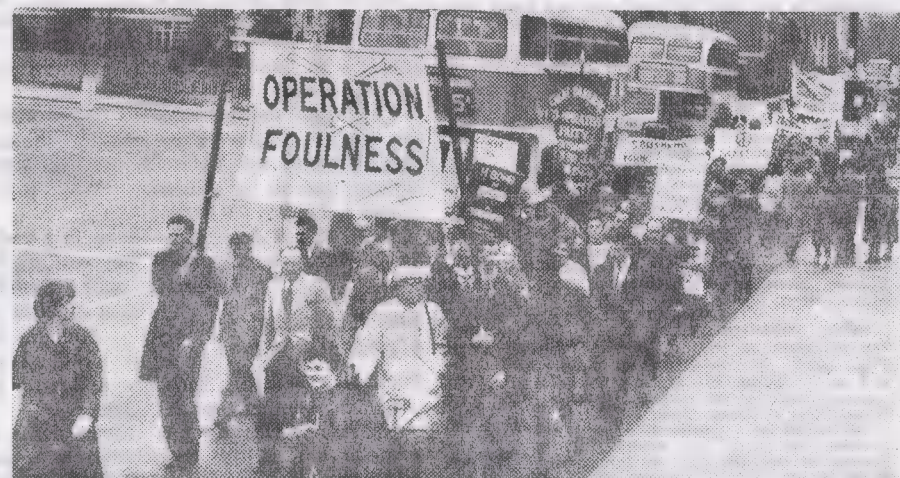
At Durban Tommy (“You Lucky

People”) Trinder said he would not play to non-White audiences because they could not pay 25s. to see him, and because “they would have to wear shoes at my shows.”

In Johannesburg on April 20 this political comedian weighed in with another gem: “I do not think natives would understand what I was saying.”

Trinder, the race relations expert, rounded off his talk to members of Executives Association of Southern Africa with a solemn promise: “I will do all I can to counter anti-South African propaganda in England when I return there.”

So Tommy Trinder—as Diana Dors and other British performers have done in South Africa—has chosen to support apartheid in entertainment. When will Equity act?



**BREAKING PASS LAWS**



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## BREAKING PASS LAWS

From the Rev. A. W. Blaxall

FOR the first time since the amendment of the Criminal Laws Act (after the 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws) judgment has been given in a South African court and the maximum sentence imposed on 142 Africans.

The charge was "that you did form yourselves into an organisation, known as the Pan-African Congress, for the purpose of persuading others to break a law, namely not to carry their reference books, which you call passes."

Judgment was delivered in the Court at Carr Street, Johannesburg, offices of the department of Bantu Affairs.

The Criminal Laws Amendment Act says that anyone found guilty of instigating and encouraging others to break an existing law shall be liable to a fine of £300, or three years hard labour, or up to 10 cuts with a cane, or any two of these penalties.

The trial of the 142 (they started 144 but two were discharged from the main charge) had gone on for a week: finding them guilty the magistrate sentenced them to fines of £300 each or three years—at which all the accused shouted "Three years—no fines." The accused conducted their own defence, one reminding the court that the next day would be Good Friday. "Like Jesus," he said, "we have vowed to take whatever is laid upon us."

Before passing sentence the magistrate addressed the accused for an hour and a half—a fantastic attempt to belittle their campaign and extol the wonderful things South Africa does for all sections of the population!

Police officials described the detainees as "loafers and undesirables."

But it is not only non-Whites who live in fear of police intimidation. There are several White professional men in Johannesburg who spend each night "on the run."

These people fear political arrest. They are White South Africans with the courage to have spoken out over the years against the folly of apartheid. They treat non-Whites as human beings.

One young professional man told me: "I am a one-man business. If I were detained it would be financially disastrous. To play for time I sleep at the houses of different friends each night. I see my wife and kids only at week-ends. When possible we go out of town and stay at country hotels."

There are dozens like him today in Johannesburg—innocent men on the run.

Of Whites who so far have been detained under emergency regulations, many are reported in solitary confinement. In some jails detainees are not permitted to see either attorneys or relatives. A cloud of ominous mystery shrouds the procedure of detention.

In most cases newspapers are not permitted to publish detainees' names. It is assumed they can be held without charge or trial till the end of the emergency—six months, one year, two years, who knows.

I was told of a 20-year-old student detained some weeks ago who has not yet been permitted any visit from his parents—

## Scots' Aldermaston

THE Glasgow Council for Nuclear Disarmament has organised Scotland's "Aldermaston" march for Saturday week, May 7.

A leaflet encouraging people to support the demonstration is available from the Council at 12 Baldric Road, Glasgow, W.3. The march will leave Claremont Street, Glasgow, at 2.45 p.m. and pass through the city to Kelvingrove Park, where a meeting will be held in the bandstand at about 4 p.m.

Before the march a meeting for worship will be held at Friends House, 16 Newton Terrace, at 2 p.m.



Last Saturday's 130-strong march leaves Southend on its eight-mile protest to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on Foulness Island.

Photo: Austin Underwood

## 'CND should focus on NATO'

Peace News Correspondent

NOT content with merely contemplating the 50,000 people who had taken part in the Aldermaston march, the London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament held a conference "After Aldermaston" in the St. Pancras Town Hall last Sunday; 300 people attended.

The conference began with a valuable speech from Stuart Hall, the editor of the *New Left Review*, on the Campaign and the Western defence alliances. His central point was that now the independent nuclear deterrent was likely to disappear, the focus of the Campaign's propaganda should be on the nuclear alliances, particularly NATO. To match this, the Campaign should be particularly concerned to develop its own international alliances with anti-nuclear groups in other countries.

After this session, apart from sensible contributions from April Carter, the secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, on non-violent resistance, and from Michael L. Howard, the Aldermaston March chief marshal, on the implications of CND as a mass movement, the speakers from the platform maintained an even, mediocre level of thought.

The discussion from the floor was much better and many sensible suggestions and

comments on the Campaign's future were made. Two things, however, made this discussion less satisfactory than it might have been. There was a tendency to wave the words "mass movement" around without anybody trying to make precise what they meant by this. And nobody was very clear about the framework CND was working in. Were we trying to change the policies of the existing Parties, should CND form its own Party, or would we achieve our aims by direct action methods?

All these possibilities were raised, but hardly anybody faced them squarely. As a result it was difficult to assess the value of the concrete suggestions that were made for action.

During the conference Michael Craft drew attention to one of its main purposes—to launch summer study groups in London. The organisations sponsoring these include London Region CND, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, *Peace News*, and the *New Left Review*.

Enquiries about the groups, which are still in the planning stage, may be made to Anthony Weaver, care of London Region CND, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

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# FOULNESS



Monday, 7.04 a.m.: Police carry away local demonstrator Ruth Townsend from the approach to Foulness Island H-bomb factory, near Southend. In front, fellow project-organiser David Fairbanks awaits arrest.

Photo: Will Green.

## 21 demonstrators jailed

FIFTEEN men and six women were last Monday sentenced to seven days' imprisonment in the first locally-organised civil disobedience action against nuclear weapons.

Their appearance at the County Court in Southend was the climax to a week-end of activity centred around Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on Foulness Island, eight miles east of Southend.

THE SCRAPING OF THE FIRST LONG-RANGE H-BOMB MISSILE, WHICH WAS AGAIN ARGUED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, WAS NO EXCEPTIONAL MEASURE.

The British Government has at last discovered the truth which every country building World War III weapons has recognised but failed to act on: weapons are now out of date years before they can get anywhere near the assembly line.

This is the post-1945 revolution in the technology of weaponry. The weapons get bigger, more ingenious and more complicated than ever. This process is ever continuing. Blue Streak, for example, was not due until "beyond the mid-1960s." It has been cancelled because it can no longer be judged militarily effective.

Now the search is going on for an alternative megaton weapon which can more efficiently cancel out whole populations. Consider the two suggested "improvements": Skybolt missiles fired from V-bombers, and Polaris missiles shot from submarines. The first possibility ignores that the V-bombers will be obsolete by the later 'sixties, when the missiles could be ready. The second alternative is still so many years away—the keels of the submarines haven't even been laid down yet—that it is certain to be outmoded before its scheduled appearance.

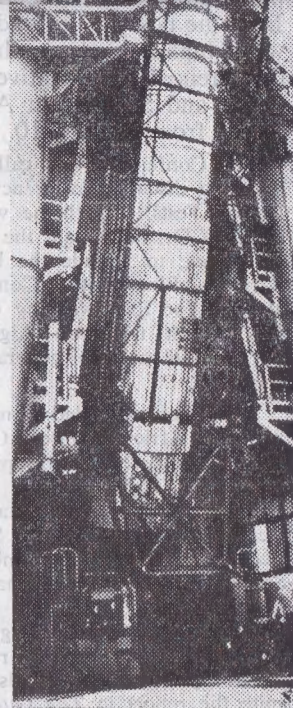
The cost, moreover, of one single nuclear submarine capable of carrying 16 Polaris missiles would be "about £35,000,000," *The Times* Defence Correspondent estimated on Monday.

## The real missile gap

The new pattern of preparation for war has emerged. The time between the blueprint and mass production is so long (already approaching a decade) that nobody can realistically plan so far ahead in a period of increasingly rapid change. The fact is that the Governments of the Great Powers and their military advisers, incapable of imagining any policy other than preparation for war, are now in a world of their own, chasing successive illusory super-weapons from drawing board to scrap heap.

Yet this search for more "effective" weapons continues, in Britain as elsewhere, supported by the great weight of "right-thinking" and "responsible" people. The "Opposition's" spokesman on Defence, Mr. George Brown, was formerly a supporter of Blue Streak and is now criticising the Government because it has not got a more effective weapon and because it will not allow a secret inquiry into policy!

This preoccupation of our statesmen with the weapons of the late 'sixties and early 'seventies continues at a time when they are about to enter on the latest round of Summitry. It has to be faced quite frankly that the preparations for war so outweigh even the politicians' hopes of peace that the negotiations will once again be



This was Blue Streak, Britain's first long-range H-bomb missile. Scheduled off the production line in five years' time, it is already on the scrap-heap. Cost with extras is nearer twice the official estimate of £65,000,000.

defeated by the weapons.

What is desperately required is a belief that peace is possible, that it will not come about in an atmosphere conditioned by military strategy, and that it is therefore necessary for independent action to be taken to halt this breakneck rush to destruction.

We shall not get such a declaration from any of the Great Powers, for their actions show they don't believe it. Now is the time for all men to say what their Governments are incapable of declaring—and to act out the truth that war can be abandoned.



almost impossible for African leaders to repudiate violent methods completely. The urge towards independence and the ties of kinship between various countries struggling towards independence are stronger than any preference for non-violent methods.

After five years of bloody struggle involving tremendous loss of life and suffering for the Algerian people it is not easy to say to Algerian leaders "your methods are wrong so we cannot support you."

Africa feels about Algeria rather as the West felt about the Hungarian uprising in 1956, only the Algerian war has gone on for years instead of days.

So the Liberian delegate immediately went on to say:

"In the extreme causes where violence may be inescapable, it is our view that every possible assistance should be rendered those beleaguered in such a struggle —by all of us."

So the resolutions adopted on the French tests and liberation movements stressed training centres in non-violent action, yet the resolution on Algeria affirmed the Tunis Conference decision that armed brigades should be recruited for Algeria. So Ghanaian papers featured photographs of a Ghanaian volunteer corps for Algeria, carrying a large banner with a skull on it, side by side with speeches on non-violence! And so Nkrumah has given £10,000 to the Algerian cause.

This dichotomy is quite inconsistent from a pacifist point of view, but it is natural when non-violence is looked on primarily as a strategy, not as a basic principle. It is also compatible with Gandhi's belief that it is better to fight than to deny one's manhood by cowardly submission.

There was of course some log rolling in favour of the Algerian FLN at the Conference. The United Arab Republic delegate made a speech emphasising the right of the Algerians to fight and he announced that a bureau had been opened in Cairo for the registering of volunteers "to fight side by side with their Algerian brothers."

The Algerians were also warmly supported by the Indian representative of the World Peace Council who congratulated the All-African Peoples' Conference on its decision to set up an All-African Volunteer Brigade.

"If the African people," he said, "should decide to permit the peoples of other continents to join this Brigade, rest assured that members and supporters of the World Peace Council and of its national committees will be among the first to send their names for inclusion in the International Brigade."

April Carter concludes her article next

public expression of it at that. Three per cent of them went in for this March, boots, blisters and all, right up to the neck.

This March, incidentally—and this, too, is hard to credit—was joined by 0.1 per cent

Still thinking statistically, we are tempted to take two further, and more hazardous, steps. We are tempted, first, to assume that, if a three per cent turnout of Quakers can be accepted as good evidence of a remark-

Brian G. Cooper reviews

**The Small Flag**, by Jordan Halck. Jonathan Cape. 15s.

THE life and work of the men of the United Nations Observers' teams gets little publicity.

Except at moments of crisis they are anonymous figures, their work seemingly remote, their praises unsung; this is the fault of the twisted scale of values (including real news value) that permeates the mass-media in our day. Yet few subjects could be more contemporary, relevant, and challenging than UNO in action, and a novel on this theme is very welcome.

THE SMALL FLAG depicts the hazards and tensions besetting four UNO observers stationed along a demarcation line between two states, Dorano and Rutonesia, which dispute the region of Bordestan. The author, who is a Danish soldier, spent a year as a military observer for UNO in Kashmir, and his narrative faithfully reflects the multi-coloured mosaic of South-East Asia: grinding poverty along side riotous affluence, the grandiose and dangerous territorial ambitions of fanatical nationalist generals, the resentment of some against UNO's efforts for a negotiated peace, and the frustration of attempts to build a new, post-imperialist society when sidetracked by militaristic preoccupations.



The characters, and especially their reactions in unfamiliar circumstances, are carefully portrayed. Harvester, an American; Bellamy, an Englishman; Helmers, a Dane; and Vermuelen, a South African; are all former officers of their national armies, and the quirks and antique quality of their respective patriotisms contrast strangely with the international responsibilities they successfully shoulder.

They are in themselves a microcosm of the greatest political challenge the world has ever known, and if this book forces its readers to ponder the basic conflict between patriotism and internationalism, it will have more than served its purpose. The necessity for education in global-mindedness and the sense of world responsibility, together with the development of UN citizenship, form its implicit message.

Moving slowly at first, the book gathers momentum towards a thrilling climax in which the attempt of a ruthless underground organisation to break the Armistice and re-open hostilities is stopped by the heroic self-sacrifice of one of the observers. Apart from the fact that the romantic

## TO HELP WORLD REFUGEE YEAR



Halil Muhadraj has two wives and six children. He is 42 years old and grew up in a primitive mountain village in Albania. He is illiterate, and when one of his brothers died, he took the fiancée as his second wife, in accordance with tradition and believing this to be legal. Only when he became a refugee in 1951 did he discover he would be labelled as a bigamist and refused emigration. Here he poses with his two wives, his sister-in-law, and two children. The others were at school. The older members of the family speak only Albanian and are allowed to buy and cook their own food in accordance with Moslem tradition. Recently, Halil was given a chance to go to Sardinia where film star Don Murray initiated a special scheme for refugee farmers, but returned a fortnight later, saying the authorities did not understand the Moslem way of life. Problems like this one are likely to defeat even the most resolute welfare agencies.

A page from Kaye Webb's and Ronald Searle's report in words and pictures on REFUGEES 1960 (Penguin Special. 2s. 6d.) All the profits from the sale of the book will go to World Refugee Year.

## THOREAU ON INJUSTICE

"Under a government which imprisons, afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently



contingent of 11) on Good Friday started a four-day, sixty-mile, protest march against their country's nuclear weapons policy.

Two young Hamburg teachers and war-resisters, Hans-Konrad Tempel and Helga Stolle, who could face treason charges for their activities against rocket bases, played a leading part in its organisation, Frances Edwards reports:

**WE** marched in four columns, from Hamburg, Brunswick, Hanover and Bremen.

On the first day we had icy winds, hail, rain and even a little snow, but we were inspired by the good spirit of our young companions and their determination. The onlookers' reactions were wary, rather surprised and non-committal.

The press paid very little attention to us, but for a small part of the march we had TV cameras trained on us and that evening viewers in Western Germany saw us linked with the Aldermaston March.

There were about 1,000 at the final rally, held only 200 yards from Belsen concentration camp, with the marks of NATO tanks visible close to the Wall of Remembrance.

Tremendous difficulties face the German pacifists and nuclear disarmers. If people like Helga and Konrad got to prison they will never be able to teach in Germany again. The trade unions will not fight for them.

## BREAKING PASS LAWS

From the Rev. A. W. Blaxall

**F**OR the first time since the amendment of the Criminal Laws Act (after the 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws) judgment has been given in a South African court and the maximum sentence imposed on 142 Africans.

The charge was "that you did form yourselves into an organisation, known as the Pan-African Congress, for the purpose of persuading others to break a law, namely not to carry their reference books, which you call passes."

Judgment was delivered in the Court at Carr Street, Johannesburg, offices of the department of Bantu Affairs.

The Criminal Laws Amendment Act says that anyone found guilty of instigating and encouraging others to break an existing law shall be liable to a fine of £300, or three years hard labour, or up to 10 cuts with a

scabbarded bayonets swinging from their webbing belts, swagger away off duty hours in city streets.

In open spaces the troops drill—and give displays of unarmed combat and the "new" technique of dealing with rioters by using rifle butts as clubs. All this is to give confidence to the Whites and to fill Black hearts with fear.

Meanwhile Africans in townships at East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town are subjected to dawn and night raids by large forces of police and troops. Hundreds have been detained or arrested.

In a dawn raid on Wednesday of last week 200 police supported by armoured cars swooped on Duncan village township (East London) and detained 345 Africans, bringing the total held in East London in three days to 752.

## "Undesirables"

Police officials described the detainees as "loafers and undesirables."

But it is not only non-Whites who live in fear of police intimidation. There are several White professional men in Johannesburg who spend each night "on the run."

These people fear political arrest. They are White South Africans with the courage to have spoken out over the years against the folly of apartheid. They treat non-Whites as human beings.

One young professional man told me: "I am a one-man business. If I were detained it would be financially disastrous. To play for time I sleep at the houses of different friends each night. I see my wife and kids only at week-ends. When possible we go out of town and stay at country hotels."

There are dozens like him today in Johannesburg—innocent men on the run.

Of Whites who so far have been detained under emergency regulations, many are reported in solitary confinement. In some jails detainees are not permitted to see either attorneys or relatives. A cloud of ominous mystery shrouds the procedure of detention.

In most cases newspapers are not permitted to publish detainees' names. It is assumed they can be held without charge or trial till the end of the emergency—six months, one year, two years, who knows.

I was told of a 20-year-old student detained some weeks ago who has not yet been permitted any visit from his parents—

who were not officially informed of his detention.

Into this week of uneasy peace sailed British comedian Tommy Trinder—who wasn't funny. Trinder must be just the type of immigrant the Nationalist Government would welcome. Fortunately he is here only on a short tour of night clubs. What Trinder told the press can only be excelled in fatuousness by Cabinet Minister de Wet Nels' statement last week that race relations in the Union have never been better.

At Durban Tommy ("You Lucky

not pay 25s. to see him, and because "they would have to wear shoes at my shows."

In Johannesburg on April 20 this political comedian weighed in with another gem: "I do not think natives would understand what I was saying."

Trinder, the race relations expert, rounded off his talk to members of Executives Association of Southern Africa with a solemn promise: "I will do all I can to counter anti-South African propaganda in England when I return there."

So Tommy Trinder—as Diana Dors and other British performers have done in South Africa—has chosen to support apartheid in entertainment. When will Equity act?



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Photo: Austin Underwood

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